/228 cont./

fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratá tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

/332 cont./

*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 [648] Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

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171 ●754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

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* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

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*171 ●754 it up. This hair or blood is put into the poison calabash, which is closed up, and the original owner immediately falls sick. Hair is supposedly used "because headache is produced in this way" -- actually, no doubt, because it is most convenient to obtain. If the sorcerer has no hair or blood, he soaks a little pindahyba twig or a little wool thread /Wollfadchen/ in the poison and hides it in a crack of the house or under the clay foot on which the cooking pot stands, or he surreptitiously throws it -- for it flies very far -- toward the person pursued, or he shoots it with an arrow ** into a

** One may make the subtle distinction between this magic arrow and the weapon of the poisoned arrow which is unknown to the Indians in that the former is not actually poisoned, but rather only dispatches the poisoned fragment.

*171 754 755 tree where the person lives. The good medicine-man, however, often finds it, for he looks everywhere and even climbs up into the tree to fetch it down, lays it in water, and thus renders it harmless; for that he receives from the recovered one, say, /344/ a hammock, for he deserves a fine gift. If the poisoned twig has scratched the patient, the good medicine-man -- and only he -- discovers the spot where it has penetrated, sucks it until the little twig or wool thread appears, and spits it out.

*171 754 Thus we have one method where something from the body is poisoned, and one where the poison is merely brought into its vicinity. There is a third where any connection with it is absent, but instead an animal is killed simultaneously. Its purpose is never merely sickness, but always death. The man to be killed is called åmápö or amápö. In this case the sorcerer needs a piece of skin from the middle finger of any corpse and an ugá lizard; he dries the skin at the fire, pulverizes it with his magic poison, stuffs the mixture deep into the throat of the lizard, which is tightly bound around the neck and body so that it cannot get out, tosses the animal thus treated into a pot of water, covers it tightly,

/344 cont./

*171 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the
●754 amápö falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaïrí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser,
*171 could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje,
754 French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one.
756 Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetó chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kχurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimula-
754 tion of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it, no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The
*171 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be
755 stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo- [774] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[712] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[777] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
754 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

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000
582 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, todohokűinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possi-
764 bility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and
[754] attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
764 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning
784 period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

776 The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural
775 beings, good and evil, such as the iaműra, topiehe, karoui,
[824] kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but
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[113] 5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

224 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and
226 agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory
229 activities intended to appease the anger of the iaműra deprived
776 of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and
782 kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
784 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their
756 sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanagururoro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanagururoro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamüra, topiehe, iuanagururoro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamüra with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[197] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kadoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamũra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.